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THE CONDUCT OF THE *Late* and *Preſent* M-----RY *COMPARED.*

WITH AN

IMPARTIAL REVIEW

OF

Public Tranſactions ſince the Reſignation of the RIGHT HONOURABLE the EARL of *ORFORD*; and of the Cauſes that immediately effected the ſame.

To which is added

REMARKS on the FARTHER REPORT of a certain *COMMITTEE.*

In a LETTER *to a* FRIEND.

Tempus erit Turno magno cum optaverit emptum
Intactum PALLANTA *& cum* SPOLIA *ipſa Diemque*
Oderit. VIRGIL.

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William Pulteney

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S I R,

IF I am entirely *convinced* of the *Integrity* of your Intentions, I will, as you deſire, open myſelf without any manner of *Reſerve* upon the Subject we talk'd of when I had laſt the Happineſs of your Company.

You know, I enter'd very early in Life upon *Public Buſineſs*, and continued as long in it as I could continue with *Honour*; that is, as long as my *Principles* and *Conſcience* would ſuffer me. I have ſince amuſed myſelf as a *Spectator* of *the Scenes* in which I uſed to *act*; I have watch'd the *Agents* by which *they were ſhifted*, and I have attended ſo nearly to the Propriety of Characters and Conduct in all the political Farces that were acted during the late long Adminiſtration, that I now ſee the winding-up of the whole with as much *Coolneſs and Indifference*, as others gaze upon it with *Surprize and Aſtoniſhment*.

This *Character* may, without Vanity, I think, entitle me to offer my Advice to you and your Friends upon the ſhort Queſtion you put to me the other Night. I mean, "Whether the Cauſes "of the late Oppoſition now ceaſe to exiſt?"

For this Purpoſe, I ſhall not enter into any long Review of the Principles and Conduct of the late Oppoſition. Thoſe Points have been ſo fully diſcuſſed in many Papers and Pamphlets, publiſh'd during the late Adminiſtration, that it is ſufficient for me to hint, that *in fact*, the Conduct of the new Adminiſtration has, during the ſhort Time they have been in play, been ſuch as muſt call for all the Vigilance of your Jealouſy. The Jealouſy of Power in a Man who would ſerve his Country honeſtly and ſucceſsfully is always *laudable*; and, I ſpeak it with a *melancholly Concern*, at the preſent Juncture it appears to be *neceſſary*.

In order to prove this, I ſhall advance only ſuch Facts as are conſiſtent with your own Knowledge, but ſhall draw Conſequences from theſe Facts which may not fall ſo immediately under the Ob-

ſervation of one who has been ſo lately acquainted with *public Buſineſs* as yourſelf.

The late Oppoſition was compoſed of two Sets of Men, *knaviſhly* and *fooliſhly* diſtinguiſh'd by the Names of *Old Whigs* and *Tories*; but ſo far as I can underſtand, from the *Actions* and *Converſations* of Both, the only Difference conſiſted in the former laying down as a Maxim, That in order to deſtroy the late Miniſter, whom they look'd upon as a very *bad one*, it was neceſſary *indiſcriminately* to oppoſe all his *Views* and *Meaſures*, and never to divide among themſelves upon any Meaſure that could diſtreſs him: This is a Maxim if not *ſtrictly* yet *politically juſt*.

The other Gentlemen, who go under the Name of *Tories*, ſtuck to the *ſtrict Juſtice of Conduct*; but it happen'd, *fortunately* for both, the Meaſures of the late Adminiſtration were ſo blameable, that few or no Inſtances happen'd during the *long Term of twenty Years*, in which every Act of Oppoſition was not only *politically* but *ſtrictly juſt*.

The firſt Inſtance, in which theſe two Characters ſeem'd to be diſtinct, was in the Caſe of the famous Motion. I ſhall not enter into the Diſpute, whether the laſt mention'd Claſs of Gentlemen were or were not ſtrictly juſtifiable in their deſerting the former, but I will venture to ſay, that the ill Succeſs which that Queſtion met with in the Houſe begot a Security in the Miniſter which occaſioned his Removal.

When the Writs were iſſued out for the preſent Parliament, very few People, I believe, were of any other Opinion but that the Miniſter would have a greater Majority in the ſucceeding Parliament than he had in the one then juſt ended. But it happen'd unfortunately for him, that the War with *Spain*, and the great Drains of Treaſure by the expenſive Expeditions to *America*, had exhauſted the *Exchequer* to ſuch a Degree, that, I am credibly inform'd, there was not at the Time of the Commencement of the late Elections, a hundred thouſand Pounds in the Treaſury. But the fruitful Head of the Miniſter would have found the Want of Money eaſily ſupply'd, had it not been that he was deceiv'd in imagining, that the bad Succeſs of the Motion was an Indication of the People's Affection to his own Adminiſtration, and of their Averſion to thoſe who puſh'd it. This induced him to conclude, that while they were in the Humour they wou'd not only return all his Friends who ſtuck by him in the Motion, but turn out thoſe who were moſt forward in its Favour. He was deceiv'd; the Nation indeed laugh'd at the two Parties who had, upon that Occaſion, ſplit; but this did not at all diminiſh their Averſion to his Perſon and Meaſures.

Another Miſtake he fell into was that of imagining, that the Tories, as they are called, by leaving the Whigs, diſcover'd an Averſion

verſion both to the Company and the Principles of the Whigs. It is true, that the former did not much like the Manner in which that *Queſtion* was introduced, nor the *Perſon of the Man* who made THE MOTION. Perhaps they were glad of an Opportunity to ſhew the Whigs of how little Importance they were in the Houſe, and what a ridiculous Figure they made in the Nation when they ſtood by themſelves. But ſtill the Tories never loſt Sight of the Oppoſition, and their Behaviour upon that Occaſion was, I believe, one Reaſon why they made a Point of beſtirring themſelves in the moſt effectual Manner in the following Elections.

The Election for Members in *Weſtminſter* was the firſt Struggle, which gave People Room to apprehend that the next Parliament would be more unfavourable than the former. But what did the Gentlemen who compoſe the preſent Miniſtry do upon that Occaſion? Why! tho' moſt of them were Inhabitants and Electors of *Weſtminſter* themſelves, and many of them were upon the Spot, yet they not only gave no Aſſiſtance to the Gentlemen who managed the Oppoſition to the Court, but ſome of them gave their Intereſt againſt them. The Tories indeed beſtirred themſelves more; they gave all the Aſſiſtance they could againſt the old Members, who, for all that, muſt have carried the Election, and been ſtill ſitting in the Houſe, had it not been for their own and their Returning-Officer's Blunders.

Soon after the Oppoſition of *Weſtminſter*, Things began to look with a very ill Aſpect upon the M———r; the Royal Preſence withdrawing out of *Great Britain* was no very favourable Incident to him; and the Action at *Carthagena*, as we had it by our firſt Accounts, gave great Spirit to the Oppoſition, who diſtinguiſh'd themſelves by their Attachment to Admiral *Vernon*: In ſhort, ſeveral very untowardly Circumſtances for him happen'd to fall out during the very Criſis of the general Election.

But the Returns which effected the great Revolution that lately happen'd, were thoſe from *Scotland* and *Cornwall*. From the firſt Place, the Country-Party, never almoſt ſince the Union, return'd above four or five Members at moſt, out of forty five; and the Obſequiouſneſs of the other to the Court became proverbial. But the Duke of *A——le* and his *R——— H———s* beſtirred themſelves ſo effectually in both Places, that a Majority from both were return'd againſt the Court. This unexpected Turn brought Matters pretty near to an Equality in the Houſe upon the firſt Sitting of Parliament, tho' both Sides were ſo very confident of Succeſs that each reckon'd upon twenty of Majority.

The Addreſs upon the Speech from the Throne was, however, in ſo general Terms that perhaps they began to think, that the M———r did not care to venture a Diviſion till he had purged the Houſe upon the controverted Elections. The firſt of theſe

was

was that of B———y; and from the Earneſtneſs which the Party behaved with in that Affair, with the wide Stretches which were made in it, it was very eaſy to perceive what Juſtice was to be expected in the Determination of thoſe Elections that remained to be controverted, if the Majority for the Court continu'd. However, as this Point was carried by but a very inconſiderable Number, it remain'd ſtill a Doubt in what Manner Things might turn out in the main. The next Trial which the Parties made of their Strength, was in the Affair of chuſing a C———n of the C———tee of E———ns. But here the M———r committed a fatal Blunder for himſelf. For in that ticklish Situation of Affairs, he ought to have ſtuck as much as poſſible to *perſonal* Merit; inſtead of that, he had nothing in view but *political*. By this I mean, he ought to have ſet up a Man, who, by the Conſideration of his perſonal Merit with the other Party, might have determin'd a few among them to have joined him; this is what is always found in Parliament, where two or three, or more, will, from a perſonal Regard to a Man's Perſon, leave his own Party, or at leaſt be neutral in a Motion. But the M———r acted in a quite different Manner; for he put up one of the moſt unpopular Men in his whole Party againſt one of the moſt unexceptionable and beſt beloved in the other. Therefore the Queſtion was carried againſt him merely through perſonal Conſiderations, the Majority upon the whole being but Four.

This was an irretrievable Blow for him. When Men are connected together merely by Motives of Intereſt, every Man amongſt them, who knows his own bad Intentions, looks upon his Neighbour as watching every Moment to take Advantage of him, and to make the beſt Bargain he can for himſelf with the other Party; ſo the Succeſs is the only Principle of their Union. The M———r however had Addreſs enough to keep them pretty firmly united, but was not able as uſual to make any Converts, nor to prevent them from flagging a little both in Zeal and Attendance.

This was evident in the Queſtion upon the Merits of the *Weſtminſter* Election, which was the *next*, and indeed the *deciſive* Meaſure, that gave a Turn to the State of his Affairs. It was a Queſtion purely political on the Side of the Oppoſition; by which I mean, that very few or no perſonal Conſiderations enter'd into it that could influence the Deciſion of it in favour of the Petitioners: Theſe were Men of the middling Rank of Life, and deſtitute of all Support and Countenance from thoſe who were in any Branch of the Civil Magiſtracy of the City. As to their Candidates, their Merits in a public Sphere were yet untry'd, and conſequently their perſonal Intereſt to influence ſo deciſive a Vote

Vote could not be very conſiderable. On the other hand, one of the ſitting Members had had great Opportunities by long Experience in Buſineſs, by long Poſſeſſion of Power, and the Benevolence of his own Diſpoſition, of making many perſonal Friends. It was therefore perhaps, a little unfortunate for the M———r, that the Fate of this Queſtion cou'd not affect that Gentleman's Seat as a Member of Parliament; but as the Queſtion came before the Houſe it was a fair Trial of Intereſt, not depending upon the Perſons of the Candidates, but the Power of their Parties.

The fair Merits of the Queſtion were indeed ſtrongly againſt the ſitting Members; but what muſt theſe have availed had the Numbers been for them? A Reſolution was taken at a certain Board, and had been ratified by a kind of ſolemn Sanction, *that no Quarter ſhould be given in Election.* This was the Time for putting this Doctrine in practice. The Public is ſufficiently acquainted with the Manner in which that Election had been carried on, therefore I ſhall take no other Notice of the Reaſons againſt it than by obſerving, that ſtrong and unaſwerable as they were, the then M———r declar'd, that ſince ever he had the Honour of ſitting in that Houſe he had never known one Inſtance in which the Merits of any Election had been ſo clearly proved in favour of the ſitting Members.

The Queſtion however went againſt him by the ſame Majority as before in the C———n of E———ns, and a thundering Set of Reſolutions were agreed to againſt the Returning-Officer, who was indeed guilty and puniſhed, but not near ſo much as they deſerv'd who, by ſending for the military Power, had ſet a Precedent for deſtroynig the Conſtitution itſelf.

As theſe Reſolutions contain'd a Declaration of the greateſt Breach which it is poſſible for this Conſtitution to ſuffer, it was generally imagin'd that the Offenders would be puniſh'd in the moſt ſignal Manner. It was more reaſonable to expect this, as this Houſe was known but a Seſſion ago to proceed in the moſt inexorable Manner againſt one or two petty Offenders, for no other Crime than that of printing and publiſhing a * Paper, containing a few Facts which were aggravated into Blaſphemy againſt the Miniſter. Though the Truth of the Facts were as demonſtrable as any Propoſition in *Euclid*, yet a ſevere and *unremitted* Puniſhment was inflicted upon all who were found to have the leaſt Concern in that Affair. Was it not therefore natural to think, when ſo deep, ſo permanent a Violation was offer'd to this Conſtitution, and declar'd to be ſo in the ſtrongeſt Terms by Parliament, that ſome Example ſhould have been made of the Authors, ſufficient to

* See *Votes of the Houſe.*

to deter others from ſo eaſy and ſo quick a Method of putting an End to the *Freedom of all Elections*.

But now the Scene began to be alter'd: *Then* it was eaſy to foreſee that a *Criſis* muſt ſoon follow. The Appearance of the Offenders at the Bar of the Houſe was put off for a Month, and during that Time the *Heads of the Then Oppoſition* began to perceive very *plainly* that they had a Chance of ſoon becoming *Miniſters themſelves*, and therefore they conſider'd how *prudent* it might be, for *them* to ſet ſuch a Precedent as to puniſh any notorious Infraction on our Liberty, *even after it was declar'd ſo by Parliament*. Accordingly, when the Seſſion was reſum'd, and that Matter came to be under the Deliberation of the Houſe, a very ſurprizing Coolneſs appear'd. None of thoſe thundering Invectives againſt the Effect of Standing-Armies, and arbitrary Meaſures, ſupported by military Force, were now heard; when the Affair came to be diſcuſs'd, even the *bold Sempronius* became an Advocate for *Lenity* and *Moderation*, and the Men who were declar'd to be the *Violators of their Country's Liberties*, and the *Subverters of the Rights of Election*, were diſmiſs'd with an *ambiguous* Reprimand.

Here, my dear Sir, let us pauſe, and enter into a little political Philoſophy. Before this and ſome other late Events, I was apt to ſuſpect, that there was ſomewhat too ſevere in applying the general Topics drawn from *Ambition*, *Avarice*, *Malice*, and *Envy*, with a thouſand other *bad Qualities*, to the Gentlemen in the *Oppoſition*. I had read and compared the Hiſtories of all Oppoſitions in this or almoſt any other Country, and never found any Period in which Oppoſition was ſo juſtifiable as during the Time of the late Adminiſtration. As to the *Motives* of it, it was quite indifferent to me on what Principle they were founded, ſince I was ſure that the *End* was good. But how remarkably well has the moſt *ſpiteful Predictions* againſt thoſe who have ſince come over from the *Oppoſition* to the Court, been fulfill'd? How *watchful* have they been ever ſince the near Proſpect of their coming into Power preſented, of doing the leaſt Thing that might check them from committing the very ſame Crimes that were ſo juſtly charged upon their Predeceſſors? How careful have they been to retain in their Hands the ſame unconſtitutional Power *of doing ill*? We ſhall ſee, we ſhall examine, whether they have or not; but we ſhall examine not with any *Acrimony* or *Preposſeſſion*, but upon Facts undeniable, evident, and proclaim'd by themſelves.

Let us therefore, if this ſhall be made appear, conclude, that the ſame Oppoſition does and ought ſtill to ſubſiſt; let us conſider that the ſame public Diſtreſs continues, and but a few of its Authors varied. But let us, while we conſider this, be animated with a double Spirit of Deteſtation and Zeal againſt thoſe who have thus under the Maſque of *Patriotiſm* found Means to do more Hurt than

than their Predeceſſors could have effected had they been now in Power.

This is the profeſs'd End of my writing to you at preſent. You appeared to be under ſome Doubt, as if, upon the Removal of the late Miniſter, the Oppoſition was at an End. I tell you, *No*. You have now greater, more allarming Reaſons for *oppoſing* than you ever had. Some Changes have indeed been made, but they are Changes that have ſtrengthened the Hand, given Weight to the Cauſe, and enforced the Meaſures of the late Miniſter: All the Grievances we felt under him are now continued, ſome of them with *aggravated* Indignities; and, in ſhort, thoſe who have hitherto come into Power are but ſo many Acceſſions to the Cauſe of Corruption and Slavery.

But to proceed in the regular Manner I had propoſed. The late Miniſter was deceiv'd in imagining that it was in his Power to garble the Houſe. He had not Time to form Cabals for that Purpoſe, nor had he Money to ſupport them. The Virtue of the People had ſent up a Set of new Members who were not ſo eaſily managed; theſe choſe rather to eſpouſe the *Bad unknown*, than that which they had known and experienced to be for ſo long a Tract of Years. And tho' the Diſpute between the preſent Miniſtry and the old one was a Diſpute, which at the Bottom was founded entirely upon Perſons, yet it was carried on with the ſame *Animoſity* as if it had been for an Alteration of Meaſures and Conduct. This *Animoſity* paſs'd with the Well-meaning and Unexperienc'd, who form'd the Majority in the Houſe, for *Public Spirit*, and met with a ſuitable Support. For even though the Choice of the C———n of the C———tee of E———ns went againſt the Miniſter, his Party was ſo ſecure, whatever Alterations might be made as to a few Perſons, that no Alteration could happen ſo as to give them any juſt Cauſe to apprehend the Change would be total, that they gave very little Attendance upon the C——— tee of E——— ns. This gave the Oppoſition an Opportunity of having all their ſtrongeſt Caſes of Elections fix'd for early Days; and it was not long before there was a viſible and inevitable Proſpect of a Majority againſt the Miniſter. The Affair of the *C———m* E———n was the *Coup de Grace* to all his Hopes, and upon a favourable Turn which that Affair took for the ſitting Members, he thought fit to retire from the Houſe with a Declaration *that he never intended to return any more*. It was apparent from the Effect which this Retreat had upon his Creatures; they did not imagine that his *Time was ſo near*, and from his own Behaviour, and that of his Opponents who have ſince come into Poſts, that the Affair had been previouſly concerted. What put this out of all Doubt was the Reſolution enter'd into next Day of adjourning the P———t, which paſs'd without the leaſt Oppoſition.

It was very eaſy to perceive the Meaning of this Adjournment, and why it was ſo readily agreed to by the Heads of the one Party after having been propoſed by thoſe of the other. There was an Appearance of a Spirit of Liberty, and Independency growing ſtrong within Doors. No Money, or at leaſt but very little, had been granted; and ſhould this Spirit have prevail'd, it was fear'd that it might become too unmanageable for the Heads of either Party to ſubdue, and thus the new M———ry might have ſucceeded only to an exhauſted Exchequer and an empty Name. To prevent this, and to put the Favourite ſcreening Scheme in Execution, it was found neceſſary not to encreaſe the Country Party too much, by ſuffering them to receive any new Additions of Strength, which, had the Houſe continued to ſit, they might have done by the Deciſion of *four* or *five Elections* then depending. The Adjournment prevented this; for the two Parties, before the Adjournment, were ſo equally balanced, that the throwing two or three into either Side would have caſt the Scale; and it was rightly judg'd that a little Management during the Interval wou'd eaſily bring thoſe over. But this happen'd not quite ſo eaſy in Practice as in Theory. It was very plain, that all the Conceſſions made by the M——ry were wreſted from them by Force, and that they were reſolved not to give up one Inch of Ground that they could maintain. It was likewiſe evident, that a Diviſion in the Country Party muſt, for the ſame Reaſon, be fatal both to the Well-meaning and the Deſigning, and therefore nothing was ſo much to be dreaded, eſpecially as they have no manner of Reaſon to think, that any Miſunderſtanding that could ever ariſe might create a Diviſion among the Friends of the late Miniſtry conſiderable enough to ſwell into a Party: All this was prudently foreſeen by the Court Intereſt, while thoſe who call themſelves in that of their Country, were either amuſed with the Hopes of ſeeing a thorough Change of Meaſures as well as Men, or ſo blinded by their own Ambition and bad Hearts, as to embrace, without Reſerve, the very firſt Advances that were made, and without any Terms but thoſe of blind Compliance, ſucceeded to ſome of the Places, and to all the Guilt of the late A————tion.

Thoſe firſt P————nts were plain Indications of the Spirit and Deſign with which they were made; the late Miniſter had obſerved, that there was one Perſon whoſe Unpopularity with the Gentlemen of the Oppoſition, during the laſt Seſſion, had been the principal Means of that great Diſſertion which appear'd from the Intereſt of the Oppoſition; when it fell to that Gentleman's Share to make the celebrated Motion, about removing him from his M——y's Perſon and Councils for ever; he therefore thought that the promoting ſuch a Perſon would be the readieſt Means of diſuniting the Intereſt. On the other hand, that honourable Gentleman

tleman was ſo fond of the Power with which he was ſo long tantaliz'd, that he catch'd at the Bait, and without remembring what the leaſt Reflection would have ſuggeſted, had he ever had any other Aim but Power, I mean, that his Acceptance of any Part previous to any other Perſon of the Party muſt be attended with the very worſt Conſequences: I ſay, without reflecting on this, or acting in concert with any one Man whom he ought to have regarded, he ſteps before the reſt into the moſt invidious Places poſſeſs'd by the late M ———r.

The Buſineſs by this was but half accompliſh'd. Somewhat elſe muſt be done that might make the Tories irreconcilable Foes to the oppoſing Whigs, and thereby give an irrecoverable Blow to all Oppoſition, and another Perſon, the moſt obnoxious to all Parties and Degrees of any Man in the Kingdom, came in as proper to fill a Place of very conſiderable Power and Confidence.

Such were the Fruits of this boaſted Victory, in which the Vanquiſh'd, like the old *Parthians*, appear'd to have done more Execution in their Retreat than they could have done had they been Maſters of the Field. For things were thereby placed on ſo narrow a Bottom, that the late M———r ſeem'd to have undergone no other Alteration of his Fortunes than being eaſed of the *Fatigues*, while he enjoy'd all the *Exerciſe* of Power. Inſtead of his being obliged to make an immediate Surrender of all his Places and Papers, he was indulged in Time ſufficient for making what Diſpoſitions and Alterations he pleaſed in the ſeveral Offices wherein he preſided or directed. And tho' the National Cry for Juſtice was at that Time loud and untractable, yet he had Leiſure ſufficient for ſecreting or deſtroying all the Evidences that could ſerve to convict him in caſe of an Enquiry. In the mean Time, every thing was quite unſettled; there was viſibly a Plan of Operation concerted, from which no Deviations were to be made; and certain Diſtinctions impoſed upon all thoſe who were thought to be the Enemies of the late M———r and his Power, from *Principle* rather than *Ambition*.

After the two Poſts I have already mentioned were fill'd up, the T———y came next to be conſidered. Here was a fair Field to have enforced the boaſted Maxims of the late Minority, by aboliſhing the ruinous Diſtinctions of Parties. But the World was ſurpriz'd when it was fill'd up by Perſons, of whom a Majority had an immediate and perſonal Dependence upon one Man, who never was known in his Life publickly to oppoſe any one Scheme of the late M——r, and who upon this Occaſion was put at the Head of the C——n. The greateſt Care at the ſame Time was taken, that no Perſon ſhou'd ſit at that Board who, by his Experience in Buſineſs, ſhould be capable of detecting any Abuſe or Miſdemeanour. I know it was ſaid by the Friends of the Gentlemen,

men who had thus taken the Start of all others in hurrying into Posts, that there was a Neceſſity ſome People ſhould have it in their Power to deſtroy certain Prejudices, which, by the Art of the late M——r, they apprehended had taken too deep Root; and that this never could be effected, unleſs Gentlemen ſhould accept of ſuch Poſts as put them in the Way of removing all ſuch Impreſſions. This, I own, was at firſt Sight ſo very plauſible, that a great many, even of the beſt Meaning, were brought over by it not to form any Judgment of the Gentlemen who had *puſh'd forward*, till they ſaw in what Manner they would act. That no Manner of Foundation ſhould exiſt for pretending that any Party made an ungrateful Return for the Conceſſions that had been made for diſplacing the Miniſter, the Tories of all Ranks went to Court, and ſignified in the ſtrongeſt Terms their Reſolution of ſerving and ſupporting the Perſon and Government of his Majeſty. The Noble Duke whom I have already mentioned, was very inſtrumental in effecting this Compliance, and labour'd with ſuch Zeal, that he prevail'd with the whole Party to appear at once at Court. But as this Appearance would have been but one ambiguous Teſtimony of Zeal for ſupporting the preſent Eſtabliſhment, his Grace became their Security, by appearing at their Head. This Conduct in a Nobleman, ſo diſtinguiſh'd by his Affection to the Principles of the Revolution, and one who upon thoſe Principles has done ſo much for the preſent Royal Family, one ſhould think would have been ſufficient to induce *others* to imitate his excellent Example, and to have look'd upon the Hour when the late Miniſter gave up his Power, as the Commencement of *a firm Coalition* of all Parties. Had this immediately taken Effect, we might then have taken Occaſion to congratulate the Nation upon the Downfal of miniſterial Power and Influence; but except the Removal, which I have already mention'd, in one Office, no other was made. Every little dirty Tool of the late M——r was not only continued, but had Promiſes made them of Protection and Preferment; nay, it was notorious, that Terms were made for the moſt infamous amongſt them; and even the *Proſtitutes of the Pen*, whoſe Poſts depended on the Gift of the T——y, had Aſſurances that they ſhould be continued in their Employments. From this Conduct it was evident, that the Change which had been made was not a Change of *Meaſures* but of *Men*. Nay, I will venture to ſay the Nation was ſo far from reaping any Advantage from it, that it was in a worſe Condition than ever, ſince they who came in were either the Friends of the late Miniſter, remov'd from an inferior to a ſuperior Rank of Power, or were ſo many Acceſſions to his Party.

All thoſe Conſequences, though ſince apparent, had hitherto no better Foundation than Conjecture; but an Event happen'd at that

Time

Time which pointed them more plainly out. The Merchants of the City of *London*, who had ſuffer'd ſo much from the ſcandalous Conduct of the War, thought proper to apply to Parliament for Redreſs. The Allegations they laid down in their Petition were of ſo flagrant and infamous a Nature, that in the Days of our Forefathers they would have ſerv'd for a Foundation even to *Capital Penalties*. As there is now publiſh'd an ample Detail of that Matter, I ſhall only obſerve, That theſe Allegations were made out with a Superabundancy of Proof. Hitherto no Diſpoſitions were making for removing the Authors of all this ſhameful Miſconduct: But this Caſe prov'd ſo very flagrant, that there was no protecting them any longer. It was very plain, that the late Miſconduct was owing not to wilful Neglect only, but downright Ignorance; and that there had been all along at the Head of that B——d a Man *who had out-liv'd all his Abilities as a S——n*; while the others were ſuch as were totally ignorant of the Buſineſs of the Board, or took their Orders from the M——r. It appears likewiſe, that inſtead, as it really is, of being an Office which has the moſt important Department of National Buſineſs allotted to itſelf, and therefore is accountable to the Nation, they look'd upon themſelves not as a Board of *Direction*, but of *Execution*. Tho' but the very Seſſion before, the Right Honourable Gentleman, who was then at the Head of the Ad——ty, declar'd, That the Miniſter never intermeddled with the Departments of that Board. Thus they were or were not, an independent Board, juſt as it could ſerve the Purpoſe of the Dictator. While he was to be ſcreen'd, as to his own Perſon, he took no Manner of Concern in the Affairs of the Ad——ty; when his Conduct was to be vindicated in theirs, they were obliged to receive their Orders from others. To prevent the like Practices upon like Excuſes from ever afterwards taking Place, it was thought proper that Board ſhould be fill'd up with Perſons of different Denominations, but all of them in the ſame Way of Thinking as to the Service of the Nation. But when ſuch a Liſt was propoſed, even after it had been previouſly ſtipulated and made the Condition of certain Conceſſions, it receiv'd Alterations from a Hand *which can alter nothing for the worſe*, and therefore we are bound in Duty to leave that Affair in Silence.

I will upon this Head take the Liberty of making only one Obſervation, which is, That I dare to ſay no ſuch Alterations had been made, if the great Perſonage who made them had been previouſly appriz'd of what was ſtipulated in his Name, or honeſtly inform'd of what would have been moſt agreeable to the Senſe of the Nation.

However, as I have ſaid before, very ſtrong Reſolutions with regard to the Neglect of our Maritime Affairs were come to.

But theſe Reſolutions were carried apparently and confeſſedly againſt the Senſe of the new Mi———ry and their *independent Friend*, who declar'd that he was not for their being ſo ſtrongly worded; though, at the ſame Time, no Member who heard the Proofs that came out, imagin'd that it was poſſible to find Words ſtrong enough for an adequate Cenſure. How different was this Language from what he uſed on a like Occaſion under the late Adminiſtration, when his own Reſolutions, in the Year 1739, were propoſed after a like Examination of Evidence?

But what were the Conſequences of the Reſolutions that were agreed to? Do they ſtand upon their V---s for any other purpoſe but as ſo many Monuments to ſhew that there was a Time when it was proved, to the Conviction of every Man who heard it, that the Honour, the Intereſt, and Trade of this Nation were baſely and ſcandalouſly given up to an impotent Enemy in Time of War; her Sailors and Merchants ignominiouſly chain'd within loathſome Dungeons, or forc'd to ſerve againſt their Country; and our Enemies ſuffer'd to inſult us in the Sight, and almoſt under the Cannon of the fineſt Fleet that, perhaps, ever the World beheld; and yet ———— all this was done and ſuffer'd without the Authors being cenſur'd.

If the Trade of the Nation was wilfully neglected, why was not that Neglect puniſhed? If it was not puniſh'd, what Security can the Nation have againſt the like Miſmanagements for the future? But how will it ſound to future Ages, when it ſhall appear, that * *Inſults were added to Injuries*; Inſults from one of thoſe whoſe Duty and Poſt oblig'd him to have been the Protector of our Trade; Inſults from one of our own Officers, one of his Majeſty's Servants. The adding *Inſults to Injuries* was, I remember, taken notice of ſome Years ago with a becoming Warmth in a Speech made by a Right Honourable Gentleman to his Majeſty at the End of a Seſſion of Parliament, as the moſt aggravating Circumſtance that could induce his Majeſty to enter into a War abroad; yet we ſee that very Conduct repeated, and repeated with Impunity at home.

Leaving this Head, I proceed to another, which amounts to a Demonſtration of what I propoſe to prove, *viz.* that the Cauſes of Oppoſition ſtill exiſt, which is the great and affected Care which the Gentleman who ſucceeded the late M-----r in one of his Poſts took, that no Petitions upon controverted El-----ns ſhould be heard after a certain Day. This was expreſly telling the World, "I am "afraid that the P----t may become too independent; I am afraid "that

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* *It is your own War, and you muſt take it for your Pains.* (*See Mr.* GLOVER'S *Speech, p.* 52.)

" that a Spirit may prevail in the Houſe which may prevent my " ſcreening Scheme, and therefore I am reſolv'd not to have any " more Elections determin'd in favour of the Country Intereſt." I ſay, the Zeal by which the honourable Gentleman ſupported his Motion was a plain Proof that this was the Language of his Heart, and the Conſternation into which this Motion threw one Part of the Houſe, join'd to the viſible Triumph of others who were in the Secret, were plain Indications that Promiſes had been made, that Things ſhould not proceed beyond certain ſtipulated Bounds.

I know it was ſaid by the Right Honourable Gentleman and his Friends upon this Occaſion, that it had been always cuſtomary not to admit of any ſuch Petitions after a certain Time; but I ſhould be glad to know why that Time was anticipated *this* Year? Why was it not ſuffer'd to elapſe? Why in ſuch a Hurry? Beſides, was no Regard to be paid to the Criſis, none to the Circumſtances of the Conjuncture, none to the doubtful Situation of Parties, which gave the Friends of the late M—— r ſo fair an Opprtunity of ſcreening him? Could the Conſtitution, could the Liberties of the People, or even the Forms of the Houſe have ſuffer'd, had that Reſolution not been made? Might they not all of them have been endangered by making it, had not certain favourable Conjunctures, which the new Miniſtry did not foreſee, happen'd?

The Refuſal of Papers was, by the Oppoſition to the late M——r, always accounted one of the greateſt Hardſhips they laboured under, ſince it was from them alone that any poſitive Evidence could be brought of his being the Author of all the Miſmanagements which were ſo frequent in our Negotiations with Foreign Courts, and in the Conduct of the War. The melancholy Situation of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, together with the viſible Averſion which a certain *German* Prince, nearly allied by Blood to his Majeſty, had for entring into any manner of Terms with us for checking the Power of *France*, were ſtrong Reaſons for preſuming, that ſome very diſagreeable Step had been taken in prejudice of that Prince. The Plan for a P——on of his Territories, which was wickedly conceal'd, and fooliſhly diſcover'd by the late M—— ---r, had not yet taken Air; nor was it yet known, that we had by our ridiculous Conduct in that Affair forfeited much of our Credit with another Northern P---ſ--te, on whom a great deal at preſent depends. However, enough was known to be ſufficient Grounds for believing that there was ſomething *rotten in the State*.—— A Motion for Papers was agreed to, after a long Debate, and a Defeat which the Country Party met with upon a Motion for an Enquiry into the Conduct of the M------r. By the Party of the M.------r not daring to divide upon the laſt Motion, after they had juſt carried the former by a Majority of but *three*, and when ſome Gentlemen in the Minority were gone off, it was very evident, that when the Queſtion was upon the Papers

of

of the M------r, *a Point was made and carried*; but when it related to a perſonal Application, which might put his Maſter under Inconveniences with regard to his Anſwer, the Queſtion was dropt.

This was a glaring Inſtance of the M-----r's Partiality in favour of himſelf, and Diſreſpect to his Maſter; for when the Anſwer in Conſequence of that Addreſs was returned, it appear'd to be ſuch as in ſome Periods of our Hiſtory, would have been far from ſatiſfying a diſtruſtful, diffident, Jealous, enquiring H--e of C-----ns. However, not to puſh this tender Point too far, I will only ſum up a few general Reflections, and ſuch as are evident to every Man of Common Senſe, and leave you to apply them in the beſt manner you can to the Queſtion in hand.

Motions for Papers, as I have already obſerv'd, were the favourite Topics in the late Oppoſition. Now ſuppoſing that each Motion which the Nation and the Minority ſo loudly complain'd for being rejected, had been agreed to by the H----ſe, but rendered ineffectual from another Quarter; What muſt have been the Conſequence? To be ſure, Addreſſes to know by whoſe Advice ſuch Anſwers were return'd. For the Minority always laid it down as a Conſtitutional Maxim, that all Anſwers from the C------n were the Anſwers of the M--------r. That all the Meaſures of the C------n were the Meaſures of the M------r, and that all the Secrets of the C------n were the Secrets of the M------r. In conſequence of theſe notorious, and a thouſand Times repeated Principles, was it not evident that all excuſes for baffling a P--------ry Addreſs, thro' whatever Medium they proceed are Excuſes of the M--------r, and ought to be regarded as ſuch? If theſe Excuſes are founded upon *the Prejudice which ſuch a Compliance may do to the Public*, is not the P--------t better Judge of that than a M--------r? If upon its Inconſiſtency with the Confidence repos'd in the Government by other Princes, is not a Secret Committee of a H----ſe of C--------s as much to be truſted with any Secrets of that Kind as any M--------r or Number of M--------rs, or any other Body of Men, perhaps Clerks of Offices, Underlings, *&c.* who are employ'd to examine the Fitneſs of complying with ſuch an Addreſs, and which they can do no otherwiſe than by inſpecting the very Papers which are deny'd to the Great Council of the Nation?

Such are the Arguments that have been again and again repeated by the Minority; but how did ſome Gentlemen of that Minority act in this Caſe when they came to be the Majority? They were far from ſhewing the leaſt Diſſatisfaction at this Conduct of the M------r's. They very reſpectfully put up with an Anſwer after they were *in*, againſt which they wou'd have bellowed had they been ſtill *out*. Thus the Conduct of the New M----ry towards the Nation was exactly the ſame as that of the old M----r

to-

towards his Maſter. They were both of them very zealous while the Caſe was their own; and carry'd their Points; but the latter had no ſooner an Opportunity of ſaving himſelf by expoſing his Maſter, than he left him in the Lurch, and the former no ſooner had got themſelves ſerv'd by diſporting the M———r, than they laugh'd at the Nation. Every Queſtion that was aim'd perſonally at the M———r was duly attended to and generally carried; but when the Queſtion came to be *the Service of the Nation* at the hazard of their own Poſts, they either directly oppos'd every ſingle Point, or threw ſuch cold Water on it, that it was not attended, or *practis'd*, to have it carried againſt themſelves.

This is the ſingle Conſideration upon which I found all I have to ſay upon this Subject. I can have no *perſonal* Objection to any of the Gentlemen employ'd upon the late Change of the M———y; ſo far from it, that the Pleaſure I had in the Removal of the late M———r was greatly enhanc'd by the Regard and high Opinion I had long entertain'd of their Perſons; nay, it is owing to themſelves that I now oppoſe them, for I drew every Principle upon which I oppoſe them, from their own Practices, Speeches and Profeſſions.

But it is with a melancholy Concern, that I will venture to affirm to you and the World, in no ſingle Inſtance have they acted up to the Character they *perſonated*; that in every reſpect they have given up thoſe conſtitutional Securities themſelves ſo long ſtruggled for, and that I challenge the ſtrongeſt of their Admirers, and the moſt Ingenious of all their Advocates, to point out any one Advantage the Nation has got by the Change, more than the mere Reputation ſhe recover'd Abroad by the Removal of a Man who was perſonally obnoxious to all our Friends and Allies.

Tho' it would look like Affectation to go about to prove this, yet I will mention one or two Inſtances, and leave them to your and the public Judgment. When all the Demands of the People are ſumm'd up on the one hand, and Prerogative of the Crown ſet forth in its full force on the other, the Difference betwixt both lies in *a good Place-bill*. The People think it their Happineſs that they are govern'd by Parliaments, but their Unhappineſs is that thoſe Parliaments may be ſubject to corrupt Influence. They think it their *Duty* always to obey their *Prince*; but their *Privilege* ſometimes to oppoſe his M———r. An uncorrupted Repreſentation of the Nation can keep Parliaments to their Duty, and ſtrengthen the legal Prerogative of the Prince, by ſhaking the unconſtitutional Influence of his Miniſter; but all this can be effected no other Way than by a *ſalutary comprehenſive Place-bill*. The Nation has never yet been able to obtain this Security, for what Reaſons is too well known for me to mention here. Some Attempts of that kind however were made within the Period I am now deſcribing, but, as uſual, without Succeſs. I know it will be ſaid here, by certain Gentlemen and their Friends, that the Succeſs it met with

in one Houſe was in great meaſure owing to their Endeavours. But, in Anſwer to this, give me leave to put a few ſhort Queries.

In the *firſt* Place, Can they pretend any Man, of the leaſt Experience in public Affairs, ever imagin'd that ſuch a Bill would take Place by any other Means, than by making it the Equivalent of ſomewhat elſe, which is as valuable to the Adminiſtration as this Security is to the People? Give me Leave to ask in the *ſecond* Place, Who parted with the only Means to which there could be the leaſt reaſonable Proſpect of obtaining this Security? Who moved, ſeconded, ſpeech'd and voted for near *ſeven Millions of Money*, without the Nation's being able to obtain one ſingle Article of thoſe numerous Claims of Rights, for the obtaining of which certain Gentlemen had ſo long pretended to act? Who voted for near Seventy thouſand Land-Forces being enter'd into the Pay of *Great Britain*, without the People being in one ſingle Inſtance more ſecure that ſuch a Force might not be employ'd to bad Purpoſes, than they were in the Time of the late M——y, and before any farther Declaration of War was made? Who voted againſt that Meaſure which alone could render the Enquiry of the C--tee ſucceſsful, after the Indemnification-Bill was thrown out? But of that more hereafter.

The Facts upon which thoſe Queries are grounded, will eaſily lead you to conclude, either that the Gentlemen of the New M——y never were ſincere in their Endeavours for obtaining Security or Satisfaction to the Nation; or that they were the moſt wrong-headed Set of Men in the World, by imagining it poſſible to procure either, without their making the obtaining them the Condition of their granting ſomewhat elſe--- I ſhall not ſay what. ----But to proceed from *negative* to *poſitive* Proofs. Even after the Shadow of a Bill was obtain'd for regulating the Number of Place-men in P————t, to whom was it owing that this Bill was not rendered more effectual? Was it not a Mockery upon the Nation to preſume that a Bill, to take Place ſeven Years after it paſs'd, could be any Security to the People? An Ad————on who ventures to vote for ſuch a Bill, does not venture the third Part ſo much as the Fellow, who undertook to a King, upon Pain of Death, to teach an Aſs to play upon a Fiddle, provided he had a handſome Conſideration in the mean Time. When his Friends came to ask him how he could undertake ſuch an Impoſſibility? Why, ſays the Fellow, *You are all Fools, I have made a good Bargain, for its three to one in ſeven Years Time, but that either the Aſs, or the King, or I ſhall be dead.* Such a Bill therefore could be rendered ſerviceable to the Nation, only by giving it an immediate Commencement, or at leaſt by making it take Place upon every Vacancy of a Seat in the preſent P------t, claim'd by a Candidate that comes under the Limitation of ſuch a Bill.

But let me ask again, Who was the firſt Man that ſtood up to oppoſe this reaſonable, this unexceptionable Motion? Was it not the

the very Perſon who was the firſt that ſtep'd in to ſeize the Spoil of the late M---r? The very Perſon, who, before he was a M——r himſelf, was generally the Hound who open'd the Cry in purſuit of theſe or the like Meaſures?

The Repeal of the Septennial Act was another Favourite of the Nation. I will not enter into the Diſpute whether the Juncture when this Motion was made was a proper Time, or not, for ſuch a Repeal. It is ſufficient to take Notice, that the Nation was unanimouſly and ſtrongly for it; and by that very Maxim of the late Oppoſition, this ſingle Conſideration ought to have determined every Gentleman who form'd that Oppoſition to have eſpouſed it. By their oppoſing it they have treated that, and all other Meaſures, as Workmen do the Scaffolding of a Building; they have made uſe of it to riſe to the Pinacle of Power, and having got there, they have knock'd the Scaffolding down as uſeleſs and inconvenient.

The next Inſtance I ſhall bring of the Conformity of Principles in thoſe Gentlemen, when *in* and when *out*, is that Vote which paſs'd the very next Day after the Repeal of the Septennial Act miſcarried, by which the G———t got Five hundred thouſand Pounds into their own Hands. When the Meſſage came for this Money, I believe there was not a Man in the Houſe, in the true Intereſt of his Country, who did not imagine that the Service to which this Money was applicable ſhould be ſpecified, and that it ſhould be entirely dedicated for the immediate Support of the Queen of *Hungary*, without a Poſſibility for any vague Conſtruction of Words of its being applied to Purpoſes and Services entirely foreign to the Intereſt of *Great Britain*. If the Words of the Reſolution, by which this Money was primarily granted, can be wreſted to ſuch a Senſe, I will leave it to your Judgment to conclude how conſiſtent this Meaſure is with that Jealouſy of Power which thoſe loud Acclamations, in favour of public Frugality, which but a few Weeks before diſtinguiſh'd our preſent M——rs as Patriots. I know it has been ſaid, there was an abſolute Neceſſity of ſupporting the Queen of *Hungary* without Delay: I admit there was; but this very Neceſſity aggravates the Conduct of thoſe who adviſed the drawing up a Meſſage in Terms which put her Friends here under the Dilemma of either fruſtrating the Intention of granting her an immediate Support, or granting it in a Manner as to hazard its being rendered ineffectual for the purpoſe deſign'd.

It is downright Impudence to pretend, That the Liberty which this Motion left to the M——rs in the Application of this Money, had any Influence in the Conduct of a certain Potentate, who has ſince taken a *wiſe* and *neceſſary* Step in favour of that Princeſs. This agreeable Turn of Affairs muſt have been effected, I will not ſay, tho' we had given no Support to the Queen of *Hungary*, but tho' we had not had a Miniſter, or ſo much as a Meſſenger, at any

Court

Court in *Europe* when that favourable Event happened. For it was long enough after this Motion paſs'd that this Potentate redoubled his Efforts to diſtreſs the Queen of *Hungary*, by concerting a new and more vigorous Plan of Operations, which terminated in a bloody Battle betwixt their Forces. It was owing to this Battle that his Eyes were at laſt opened. He ſaw his own Army ruin'd, his Progreſs impracticable, his Retreat difficult, his Enemies powerful, and his Allies inſincere. He reflected upon the Conſequence of the Court of *Ruſſia* declaring in favour of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, the advantageous Propoſitions of the Court of *Vienna*, and the poor deſtitute Condition of the Prince whom he had voted to be Head of the Empire. When all thoſe Conſiderations were before his Eyes, what Neceſſity can we imagine there could be for either our Gold or our Eloquence? Had he not a Superabundancy of Motives beſides to determine him to make Peace with the Queen of *Hungary*; and did he liſten to any one Suggeſtion that we offer'd him while it was in his Power to make the leaſt Head againſt the Court of *Vienna*? Did he not treat our Interceſſion with *Indifference*, nay, with a *Contempt*, which nothing but the perſevering Forbearance of a certain Court would have put up, and which the *natural* Intereſts of *Great Britain* ſeem'd to render an Object of *immediate* Reſentment? In ſhort, the true State of that Event is this: The Queen of *Hungary's* Forces and Generals did Wonders; the *French* never were in earneſt to aggrandize the King of *Pruſſia*; he found this out, by dear-bought Experience, and reſolved in Self-defence to give them the Slip. So that upon the whole, if any Part of the Money of *Great Britain* went towards making up this Peace, it was a needleſs and ridiculous Expence.

I ſhall make no other Remark upon the four thouſand Men, who were ſmuggled upon us from *Ireland*, than to obſerve, that it was done at a Time when we could have ſpared the Number of Forces which we intend now to ſend to *Flanders*, and yet might have kept for the Defence of the Nation at home more than twice the Number that was in the Nation during the hotteſt Time of the late War. There is, however, one Piece of Management extreamly unaccountable, with regard to the Manner of raiſing the new Levies; the moſt of which, were by raiſing new Corps: I cannot better illuſtrate this than by giving an Extract from a Proteſt of the greateſt Authority, entr'd *February* 5, 1740. "Becauſe it has been "undeniably proved, that this Method of Augmentation by new "Corps, is, by one third, more expenſive than that of adding "private Men to Companies. The Expence of raiſing thoſe 5785 "Men amounted to 116322 *l.* 14 *s.* 2 *d.* Whereas 5785 raiſed by "additional Men to Companies, with a ſecond Lieutenant to each "Company, would have amounted to but 86902 *l.* 15 *s.* which "would be only a preſent Saving of 29329 *l.* but a future Saving "of 10134 *l. per Annum* upon the Half-pay of the Officers of thoſe

"ſeven

" ſeven Regiments, the few Officers taken out of the Half-pay on-
" ly excepted. And we think, that at a Time when the public
" Expence is ſo very conſiderable, the ſtricteſt Oeconomy is re-
" quiſite, the better to enable a burthen'd and indebted Nation
" to continue thoſe Expences that may be more neceſſary to be
" born than eaſy to be ſupply'd: And as to the Advantage of the
" Service, the Facts plainly proved in the Debate, together with
" the Practice of moſt other Nations in *Europe*, and in particular of
" his Majeſty's Electoral Dominions, convinces us, That if this
" Augmentation was made by additional Men to Companies, with
" a proper Increaſe of Serjeants and Corporals, the military Ser-
" vice, at leaſt, for which alone it was intended, would be better
" carried on than by the Methods now purſued."

As theſe Arguments never were attempted to be anſwer'd, there can be no Shadow of Reaſon for augmenting our Army, even ſuppoſing there was Occaſion for it, by new Corps, excepting the very Reaſon which render'd this method ſo very agreeable to the late M———r; I mean the great Parliamentary Influence, which a Number of new Officers may create. As it was excellently obſerved by a noble Duke, " This is an In-
" fluence more dangerous to the Nation than the Power and Ter-
" ror which a Standing-Army itſelf carries along with it." I am well perſuaded, that had our Patriots, who have ſince come into play, worn their Patriotiſms any other ways than as a Clock which they were to drop as ſoon as the Sunſhine of a Court ſhould beat upon them, they muſt have ſeen and obſerv'd the Truth of this Maxim. It would be in vain to urge, that they were over-ruled. No Miniſter, or Servant of the C----n, can be over-ruled; becauſe if any thing is done contrary to what appears to him for the Intereſt of the Nation, he may ceaſe to be a Miniſter, or to act in the immediate Service of the C——n; and the glorious Precedent that was ſet them by the noble D——, I have already mention'd, would have prevail'd with any Set of Men who were ſincere in their Profeſſions to have followed his Example.

I now come to a Meaſure upon which a great deal is thought to have depended; but I ſhall take the Freedom to conſider it in a different Light from what it has, perhaps, hitherto appear'd in, to the Public. The Expectations of the Nation, that full and ample Satisfaction would be made to the People for the heavy Oppreſſions they had ſo long and ſo unavailingly complain'd of, were ſtrong and univerſal. The Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter* began to ſignify theirs by very warm Remonſtrances, preſented to their Repreſentatives immediately upon the Change of the Miniſtry, and their Example was followed by all the principal Bodies in the Nation. There was at that time a clear Majority of Members in the Houſe of Commons againſt the late M———r; ſo that it was in their Power to have proceeded againſt him in what Manner they had a Mind. It was agreed on all hands, that there were but two Methods

thods of Procedure; the firſt, by way of *Committee for enquiring into the Meaſures of the Adminiſtration*; the ſecond, by proceeding upon what appear'd upon the Face of their own Votes and Journals, and was conſiſtent with the Knowledge and Memory of almoſt every Man in the Houſe.

I own I was very ſingular in my Opinion, by thinking the latter the ſureſt, the quickeſt, and the faireſt; but the former was carried as the moſt proper Method. It was carried by the Perſuaſion, and at the earneſt Deſire of the Gentlemen who have ſince come into the Ad————n, and who at that Time had the Secret of winning that Confidence with their own Party, which the latter have found ſince, but too good Reaſon to repent of.

As I ſaid that I was a little ſingular in my Opinion upon this Subject, I think myſelf obliged to give you my Reaſons. In the *firſt* Place, it was notorious that the M——r, notwithſtanding his Removal from his Poſts, thought himſelf as much poſſeſs'd of Power as ever; this appear'd from ſeveral Inſtances of an unparalel'd Inſolence in exerciſing it. Theſe are too recent to be mention'd here, and the Opportunity that was given him, even after he found it was impoſſible to retain his Influence in one Place, of ſtifling all the Evidences of his Guilt in another, amounted almoſt to a Proof that it would be next to impoſſible to ſucceed in an Enquiry, which was to draw its principal Evidence from thoſe Offices, where he preſided and dictated, even after an Enquiry of ſome kind or other appear'd inevitable.

Secondly, The Diſpoſal of the public Money even to unwarrantable Purpoſes by the proper Officers, and upon Warrants which he always knew to obtain, could not be Ground for ſuch a Charge as the Nation expected and requir'd, unleſs thoſe unwarrantable Purpoſes could be clearly prov'd. Becauſe the civil Liſt Money being granted without Account, it has never been underſtood that the Parliament conceiv'd, they had any right to enquire into the Diſpoſal of it, unleſs an Application was made for Deficiencies. Therefore it is plain, that unleſs a Committee of Secrecy could prove the Purpoſes to which the Money of the Civil Liſt was apply'd, to be ſubverſive of the Conſtitution, or treaſonable in themſelves, there would be great Difficulty in founding any Impeachment againſt a Miniſter, meerly becauſe ſo much Money was ſpent without Account. But how was ſuch Proof to be come at? —— Only from thoſe who were privy to the Practices.————But this very Privity makes them criminal. Why then you muſt admit them as Evidences and indemnify them.————But this can be done only by Act of P————t; and is there any Man at this Time of Day ſo little remov'd from an Ideot, as to imagine that ſuch an Act will paſs?——But if it does not, there muſt be an End of all Enquiries.----With all our Hearts.

From this ſhort View of the Matter it is plain, that a Committee of Enquiry was an exceeding precarious Way of founding

a Proſecution of any kind; and the Event has fully juſtify'd this Opinion. For tho' they have found Matter enough to convince any reaſonable Man, that great Abuſes have been committed in the Revenue, yet it would be exceedingly difficult, upon the Face of any Report yet made, to form a legal Impeachment even for *Miſdeameanours*. *Hearſay Evidence*, which appears to be the only Evidence with regard to the Attempts to influence E——ns, and that but in one Inſtance, would ſet a dangerous Precedent, were it to be gone upon. It would be highly unreaſonable to abridge His Majeſty of the Power of extending his Charity to thoſe who are repreſented Objects of it, under whatever Circumſtances they may be. It appears from the *Caſe of Lever*, that he was repreſented to the Gentlemen who procured him the 1500 *l.* from the Treaſury as a proper Object of Compaſſion, nor is that Affair at all brought Home to the Earl of O——*d*.

As to the Buſineſs of the Exchange in paying the Troops, it is a commercial Affair, upon which a great may Diſputes may ariſe. It depends greatly upon the Rate of Exchange at that Time, betwixt *Jamaica* and *London*; and the probability of its riſing or falling. The worſt therefore that can be made of the whole of that Story is, that it was a low dirty Jobb, and might have done very well to have made out an accummulative Charge of Guilt; but neither can be laid as a Foundation for that Satisfaction which an injured People ſo loudly demands.

The vaſt Sums of Money iſſued without Account would indeed be a Charge of the moſt flagrant Nature, had the P————t granted the Civil Liſt to be accounted for to themſelves; or had any Applications been made to P————t for Deficiencies of it; or had the Purpoſes to which the great Sums were apply'd been proved to be ſubverſive of the Liberties of the Subject, or the Civil Rights of the Nation. But the rejecting the Indemnification Bill render'd the laſt almoſt impoſſible to be done; and the two other Caſes will admit of very great Diſpute.

So that upon the whole, the eſtabliſhing the Enquiring-Committee being ſubjected to inſurmountable Difficulties, was far from promiſing any Satisfaction to the Nation. It is therefore evident, that had the Leaders of the Party been in earneſt to procure Juſtice to the People, it had been eaſy for them to fall upon a more quick and deciſive Method. There was a recent Fact upon their own Votes; a Fact for which the Nation is ſuffering at this Day; a Fact for which the Honour, the Commerce, and the Property of *Great Britain* was deſtroy'd in one Day; a Fact for which the Right Honourable Gentleman, whoſe Conduct they were enquiring into, render'd himſelf anſwerable to P————t, again and again, in Preſence of the *Commons* of *Great Britain*: I mean the CONVENTION. Had they gone upon this Meaſure, a ſtrong and well-grounded Charge might have been form'd, ſupported by the beſt

beſt Evidence in the World, *viz.* * the Words of Treaties and the † Declarations of P———t. This had been an Enquiry worthy the Dignity of that auguſt Body, and would have taken up a very ſhort Time in diſcuſſing. They had enough upon the Face of their own Votes to have ſerved as Evidence; and they had a Precedent in the Conduct of the Right Honourable Perſon himſelf for impeaching a M————r of High Treaſon for a Treaty even after it had receiv'd a much fuller and more expreſs Approbation from both Houſes of Parliament than the *Convention* had ever done.

Thus, Sir, I have given you my Thoughts as to the Conduct of both Parties ſince the Changes of the M———ry. It would be needleſs to enter into other Facts, tho' there is a very fair Field open for doing it. Should this Letter meet with Approbation from you and the Public, I ſhall beg Leave to trouble you both with a Second on the ſame Subject. In the mean Time, the late Promotions which have happen'd are the beſt and fulleſt Reaſons can be given for the Conduct I have been examining. I ſhould be extremely glad of an Opportunity, from the Behaviour of thoſe Gentlemen who have now arrived at the Top of their Ambition, to retract any Part of the Inſinuations in this Letter; what I have advanced is all upon undeniable Facts, which any Man, with the ſame Attention to them, might have repreſented in much ſtronger and fuller Terms than I am capable of doing. The Sum of the whole *is*; If you are of Opinion, that the Nation has made that noble Oppoſition to the Current of Corruption which it has done theſe twenty Years paſt, for no other End than that a few Men might ſtep into Poſts and Power, you will be in the Right to ſail with the Tide; but if this Struggle was made in order to repair thoſe Overſights which have been made at the diſferent Periods of our Conſtitution, to ſettle thoſe Rights of the Subject which are not rightly underſtood, to retrieve thoſe that have been neglected, to acquire thoſe to which they are entitled by Nature, and to ſecure ſuch as are too liable to Perverſion and Abuſe: I ſay, if you are of Opinion that theſe were the Ends of the mighty Struggle made by the Nation, you will find no Manner of Reaſon for thinking that any of them have hitherto been obtain'd. When the End is not obtain'd, the Means ought to continue, which conſiſt in a ſteady and determined OPPOSITION.

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* *See the Treaty betwixt* Spain *and* Great Britain *in* 1667, *and that of* 1670. *See likewiſe two Pamphlets publiſh'd* 1739, *entituled,* Conſiderations upon the preſent State of our Affairs, *and* Farther Conſiderations upon the ſame.

† *See the Addreſs of the Houſe of Peers,* May 2*d*, 1738, *near eight Months before the Ratification of the* Convention *with* Spain, *which expreſly gives up the Rights there laid down, as* CLEARLY *and* UNDOUBTEDLY belonging to the Subjects of the Crown of GREAT BRITAIN.

FINIS.